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ABSTRACT

These three annotated reading guides were developed for courses offered at the Boston Public Library under the National Endowment for the Humanities Library Learning Program. The first lists 32 selected recent works of major importance covering the areas of colonial society, political structure, and the American Revolution. The 27 titles cited in the second include not only books about Boston architecture, but books about Boston which deal with various of the city's buildings; guidebooks to individual buildings have been excluded. The 31 readings on Boston's artisans and their products are divided into three sections: (1) the topography of the city from 1725 to 1815; (2) the artisan community and the social structure of Boston, focusing on the role of craftsmen in the Revolution and their changing social status; and (3) the crafts of 18th century Boston and some biographical materials on individual artisans. (RAA)

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Boston An Urban Community

ED181929

Boston and the American Revolution: The Leaders, the Issues, and the Common Man

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Eric C. Schneider
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

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Boston Public Library, 1977

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FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975 - January 22, 1976.

"Boston's Black Letters: From Phillis Wheatley to W. E. B. DuBois" with William Robinson, Chairman of Black Studies, Rhode Island College, November 18, 1975 - January 13, 1976.

"The Emerging Immigrants of Boston" with Andrew Buni, Professor of History, Boston College. February 4 - March 31, 1976.

"From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 5 - March 25, 1976.

"The American Revolution and the Common Man" with Robert Gross, Professor of History and American Studies, Amherst College. April 6 - May 25, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

This is an annotated bibliography for two courses offered by the Boston Public Library under the auspices of the National Endowment for the Humanities' Learning Library Program. "Revolutionary Boston, the Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" was offered by Richard L. Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University; Robert A. Gross, Assistant Professor of History and American Studies at Amherst College, taught "The American Revolution and the Common Man." The works below have been discussed under the broad divisions of Colonial Society, Political Structure, and the Revolution. The reading list is not exhaustive--rather an effort has been made only to include major works of recent vintage.

E. C. S.

Edmund S. Morgan. The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1958.

This is an excellent introduction to Puritan theology and motivation, as well as a basic history of the Puritan migration and the early years of Massachusetts Bay. Morgan traces the evolution of political life through the story of Winthrop's efforts as governor and leading citizen to preserve a united community in face of increasing pressures of factionalism. Separatism and Antinomianism are elucidated by references to the lives of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. Winthrop's life provides focus for Morgan's analysis of the dilemma central to Puritan life: to be in but not precisely of the world.

John Demos. A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970. (paper)

John Demos uses physical artifacts, colony records and official accounts, quantitative techniques, and psychological and anthropological methods to produce a fascinating account of the physical conditions of Plymouth life, the roles of women and children, and the function of the family. The chapters on housing, furnishings, and clothing are painstakingly constructed to provide a framework within which the social and psychological discussion of family life is placed. Demos finds that women's legal status compared favorably to their position in European law. He finds recognition of their property rights and shared responsibility for child rearing and business affairs. Children did not face an adoles-

cent crisis: rather they gradually assumed adult roles, donning adult clothing and beginning apprenticeship around age seven, receiving civic responsibilities at sixteen, and marrying in their early to mid-twenties. The model household was nuclear in structure, although slightly larger than the modern one, and the family organized such basic societal tasks as production, education, poor relief, and worship. Demos' Puritans repressed hostility and aggression (repression necessitated in part by close living quarters) rather than sexuality. Through his emphasis on the life cycle, Demos gives the reader a good sense of the ebb and flow of rural life.

Philip J. Greven, Jr. Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970. (paper)

Philip Greven presents a dynamic model of family structure in which the family contracts and expands with population pressure and the availability of land. Unlike Demos, Greven sees a shift in the family from 'modified extended' to nuclear; Andover's social fabric was knit together by kin groups that resided in the same area, but not in the same household. Andover's remarkably long-lived first settlers established a patriarchy, ruling over the second generation and delaying the marriage and independence that could only come with a gift of land. High birth and low mortality rates for the second and third generations led to problems in providing land and livelihoods for a numerous progeny. The relative scarcity and rising cost of land between 1710 and 1750 increased social tensions, but meant that independent sons, forced to move, presided over nuclear families beyond the reach of

paternal dominance. After 1750 land prices fell, perhaps reflecting an ease in population pressure, but the fourth generation continued on an independent path, scattering more widely,marrying younger, and receiving land conveyed by deed from their fathers at an earlier age. The larger significance of this may be, as Greven hypothesizes, that independent men might have found it easier to pursue Independence.

Darrett B. Rutman. Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972. (paper)

This work contrasts the development of Boston with the ideal of an ordered, unified community that John Winthrop sought to create. Winthrop's Calvinist theology should have warned him of the impossibility of founding an all-inclusive community of Saints, and Rutman, in contrast to Morgan (cited above), finds sources of discord present almost from the beginning. Political and religious society diverged as the ideal unity of church, state, and the propertied shattered. Church membership became the exclusive domain of the saved, and Boston life became more oriented toward the Atlantic as men of commercial outlook took up residence. The creation of new terms such as "inhabitant" and "sojourner" mirrored this fragmentation as the town sought to provide its new residents with some sort of legal status. Even the flock scattered, as within the church members segregated themselves from the nonmembers legally obliged to attend services. Rutman finds that while Winthrop wanted to establish a community medieval in character, his Boston embodied values of materialism, secularism, and individualism which distinguish a modern society.

G. B. Warden. Boston: 1689-1776. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970.

This is a narrative political history, well organized and nicely written, but without any clear thesis. The author takes the reader from the rebellion of 1689 against Governor Andros and the Dominion of New England to the British evacuation of Boston in 1776. In between we encounter descriptions of town life, political battles over marketplace regulations and currency, a smallpox epidemic, and the efforts of Boston's merchants to dominate the town's politics. Most interesting is Warden's discussion of Elisha Cooke, Jr.'s political machine, the Boston Caucus, in operation perhaps as early as 1719. The members of the Caucus probably convinced voters by liberal applications of rum and underassessment of property, and the Caucus was one means of unifying the town in the absence of other institutions. Warden guides the reader through the intricacies of the Land Bank controversy and the efforts to place Massachusetts currency on a sound basis. The last chapters of the book retell events from the Stamp Act crisis to the Revolution, again in excellent narrative fashion, but they add little new in material or interpretation to our knowledge of the period.

Kenneth A. Lockridge. A New England Town: The First Hundred Years. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1970. (paper)

The history of Dedham is one of declension: a utopian community carefully planted in the wilderness gradually dissolves into a town of outlivers, where inhabitants with competing beliefs worship in separate meeting-houses, and carry muskets to town meetings where consensus formerly

reigned. The closed, corporate, Christian community, presided over by an oligarchy of wealth, wisdom and age, becomes characterized in 1730 by squabbling interests and suspicious towns-people who frequently turn out incumbent selectmen.

The dispersal of the second and third generations of Dedham families into different portions of the original grant led to disputes over the minister's salary for services at a meeting-house inconvenient to attend, as well as over the building of roads and the representation of sectional interests on the Board of Selectmen. Petitions for separation into new townships signified the final dissolution of utopian and communitarian bonds. In addition, land had become a dearer commodity: the practice of partible inheritance over several generations left little to be divided among the fifth or sixth generations. They faced the bitter choice of moving on into an uncertain future or clinging to an increasingly hostile past. A submerged class of laborers appeared, land-less and voiceless in a society where property meant independence and the right to vote. Meanwhile, New England society was moving away from its corporate, peasant roots and toward new values of pluralism and individualism. In sum, Lockridge presents a view of a premodern society disrupted by powerful demographic forces and channeled into new patterns of life and thought.

Michael Zuckerman. Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. (paper)

After the new royal charter was bestowed upon Massachusetts Bay in 1691, central authority became geographically and psychologically more distant from the towns. The locus of authority shifted to the town, and representatives to the General Assembly became more closely tied to town

interests. Zuckerman argues the nature of representation then changed from virtual to actual: the Assembly became a more representative and less deliberative body.

Within the town, consensual values were supported by Puritan theology, which held that any passage of Scripture could be interpreted in only one way that all reasonable men would agree upon. Dissent in religion or politics was heresy and both public and religious policy was designed to encourage repentance and subsequent absolution. Ties of community and friendship, rather than litigation, mediated conflict, and political issues were resolved over back fences and in taverns rather than by vote at the town meeting. "Consensual communalism" brought all independent men (white heads-of-household with sufficient property) into the decision-making process, which Zuckerman holds was not dominated by an elite.

In Zuckerman's study, eighteenth-century New England towns are static entities. There are no outlivers, no heavings out, no litigation, no religious dissension, no land scarcity, no population pressures, nothing of the social crises found by the local historians [see Greven and Lockridge, cited above; also, Richard Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970)]. Evidence seems clear from other sources that local politics were indeed dominated by a few families, although their control gradually loosened [see John J. Waters, Jr., cited below; also Kenneth A. Lockridge and Alan Kreider, "The Evolution of Massachusetts Town Government, 1640-1740," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d. Ser., XXIII (1966), 549-574]. Zuckerman's greatest contribution is his emphasis on consensual values within the towns-- but the illegitimacy of dissent

should not be mistaken for an absence of conflict. Although New England towns may have been "kingdoms," evidence indicates they were hardly peaceable.

Kenneth Lockridge, "Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790," Past and Present, 39(1968), 62-80.

James Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXII (1965), 75-92.

Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), 375-412.

G. B. Warden, "Inequality and Instability in Eighteenth-Century Boston: A Reappraisal," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VI No. 4 (Spring, 1976), 585-620.

Gary B. Nash, "Urban Wealth and Poverty in Pre-Revolutionary America," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VI No. 4 (Spring, 1976), 545-584.

Kenneth Lockridge presents the thesis that New Englanders experienced land scarcity in the eighteenth century. Average land holdings fell, drastically in such settlements as Watertown where the average fell to 17 acres per man, or one-seventh the amount held in the 1630s. At the same time land values in Suffolk County often doubled or tripled between 1660 and 1760. Records reveal increasing amounts of "worn land" while the number of people warned out of towns rises dramatically after 1700. The total picture is one of a finite land supply balanced against a growing population forced to cultivate marginal lands or migrate. Lockridge postulates that these trends caused the development of an agricultural proletariat and aroused fears of the Europeanization of American society.

James Henretta offers further evidence for the Europeanization thesis in his article on Boston. Using tax lists of 1687 and 1771, Henretta shows that wealth was fairly evenly distributed at the end of the seventeenth century, but that by 1771 a large lower class of propertyless had emerged, the middling groups had suffered a decline and wealth was concentrating in the hands of a few. The growth of a small group of "merchant princes" characterized a more rigidly stratified social order, and, as Allan Kulikoff indicates, the Revolution did nothing to reverse this trend. The sale of loyalist estates in Suffolk County had little effect on wealth distribution: Kulikoff suggests that a wealthy group of Tories had been replaced by an equally wealthy group of patriots. In addition, the proportion of poor in the population slowly increased in Boston from 7 percent in 1771 to 10 percent in 1790. Political office, generally dominated by an elite in the pre-Revolutionary period, remained their domain after the Revolution as well. If men went to war in 1775 with hopes of creating a more egalitarian society, the evidence from Boston at least indicates they would have been disappointed at the result.

G. B. Warden has offered a critique of the premises on which the preceding articles are based. He notes that information on land scarcity comes almost exclusively from Suffolk County and fails to account for a possible shift from subsistance to commercial farming in response to the Boston market. His most telling point is scored in his criticism of the use of two data sources as widely separated as the 1687 and 1771 tax lists. Warden examines Boston's growth decennially, and finds "variable instability" rather than the rapid economic growth Henretta suggests. He also explains the political nature of the tax schedules, as a listing of the political allocation of the tax

burden rather than as an accurate reflection of wealth distribution (Warden argues in Boston: 1689-1776, cited above, that tax assessors were a part of the Boston Caucus machine). In addition, whereas real property tended to be greatly underassessed, commercial property was assessed at full value, further adding to the unreliability of Henretta's sources. The commercial wealth reflected in these lists, Warden adds, was often only paper--the ephemeral product of speculation. The author also maintains that more numerous warnings out do not necessarily mean increasing poverty, and his finding that the correlation between wealth and political office is weak rounds out his attack.

Gary Nash attempts to refute Warden's analysis. He finds the 1771 tax list biased in favor of equality: Warden does not emphasize that land holdings were charged to renters, not owners, and that nearly one thousand adults were omitted as too poor. Nash discovers a dramatic increase in both warnings out and the expenditures for poor relief, while his study of probate records indicates that the share of wealth held by the top five percent of Boston's population nearly doubled between 1684 and 1775. Nash's scope is much broader than that of other historians discussed here since he gathered evidence from several colonial cities, and he concludes that poverty embraced "at least" one fifth of heads of household in seaport cities on the eve of the Revolution. Unsettled economic conditions and the collapse of the mercantile system after the Seven Years War struck all colonial cities and all inhabitants, but affected the poor and the artisans the most.

While Warden's efforts stand as a useful caution to historians to examine the social context of the material they quantify, his work shakes but does not seriously weaken the edifice of increas-

ing Europeanization of eighteenth-century American society erected by recent historians.

James A. Henretta. The Evolution of American Society, 1700-1815. Lexington: D. C.Heath, 1973. (paper)

This is an ambitiously conceived synthetic work tracing the development of social structure, the economy, and domestic and imperial politics in the course of the eighteenth century. Henretta is at his best in his chapter on northern society, especially in his analysis of time in its annual, familial, and ecological context. Henretta also discusses the imperial trading system and the interconnections of the colonial economies, including that of the West Indies. Slavery is examined from a comparative viewpoint, and Henretta analyzes the failure of the southern economy to diversify and develop. The roots of a new personality structure, termed the "rational entrepreneur," are traced, and the evolution of politics from personal and familial factions to relatively permanent interest groups is examined.

Ethnic diversity and conflicts, and religious turmoil provide the backdrop for the crisis in imperial affairs, while fissures in the traditional elite allowed the release of pressures that took an anti-imperial form. The numerous post-war conflicts over currency and debts are placed in the context of an on-going struggle between small western agrarian capitalists and eastern commercial, industrial, and financial entrepreneurs. The discussion of modernization centers around an acute analysis of the growth of a market economy and a republican ideology. The author concludes his study with the coming of a northern industrial system and the redefinition of personal life from vertical institutions of church, family and community to hori-

zontal ones of class and social status.

The book includes enough graphs and charts to gladden any quantifier's heart, but sometimes they seem only peripherally related to the text. The organization of material within the chapter headings will not be immediately clear to the reader, since Henretta gets caught somewhere between a topical and a chronological approach. The resulting confusion is not helped by the effort to cover such broad themes over such a large expanse of time in a slim 226 pages.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Robert Zemsky. Merchants, Farmers and River Gods. Boston: Gambit, 1971.

Robert Zemsky offers us an analysis of Massachusetts political structure in the mid-eighteenth century. The author provides excellent thumbnail sketches of such Massachusetts political leaders as Robert Hale, John Adams, and Thomas Hancock, and includes a very helpful statistical appendix. Zemsky lays bare the inner workings of political alliances, greased by militia commissions and military contracts. While Zemsky's account of the political process is informed by an imaginative use of works of political theory, occasionally this leads him to an unfortunate presentism. He tends to overemphasize the professionalism and underemphasize the deference more characteristic of eighteenth-century politics. Massachusetts politics remained an affair of an elite, who were often Harvard-educated, eastern, former justices-of-the-peace, until some matter threatening to the forces of localism aroused the provincial backbenchers from their usual lethargy. Zemsky's ambition is to show us a stable Massachusetts, one normally un-

seen through the distorting prism of an inevitable Revolution. Here the author's reach exceeds his grasp., An emphasis on political structure alone necessarily yields a unidimensional picture and the author does not realize that a static study doth not a stable Massachusetts make.

Stephen E. Patterson. Political Parties in Revolutionary Massachusetts. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973.

The author convincingly demonstrates that a graphic east-west, commercial-agrarian split in Massachusetts emerged full blown in the debates over the constitutions of 1778 and 1780. This division developed gradually after 1774 as the agrarian towns became increasingly politicized and drawn into the vortex of provincial affairs, while sending up to Boston a resounding backwoods chorus for a democratized political system. The rhetoric of republicanism, Patterson finds, reflected an emerging reality of a pluralistic society.

Patterson, however, is far from convincing in his contention that "parties" existed in provincial and revolutionary Massachusetts. Robert Zemsky (cited above) has shown that the backbenchers remained apathetic, leaving political debate and activity to the leadership. Some men gathered around the governor's patronage, but there is little evidence that the shifting alliances of representatives ever coalesced into anything resembling parties. The towns Patterson terms "country" share few ecological variables and little distinguishes them from their "court" counterparts. Both of these types of towns supported the 1780 constitution, in opposition to western settlements, and political conflict appears to

have been basically sectional in orientation.

A problem basic to the book is that Patterson never defines what he means by party, and although the work provides a carefully researched survey of the Massachusetts political landscape and the machinations surrounding the adoption of the 1780 constitution, the author's thesis is never substantiated and the title is a misnomer.

John J. Waters, Jr. The Otis Family: In Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975. (paper)

John Waters indicates that kinship patterns are one important element in political structure in colonial Massachusetts. He traces the rise of the Otis family to dominance in Barnstable, and illustrates how they made and broke political alliances on the provincial level in order to serve familial purposes. Massachusetts politics in this view is dominated not by parties, but by individuals who reigned over their bailiwicks. Personal animosities could run deep, as evidenced by James Otis Sr.'s belief in 1757 that Thomas Hutchinson and the Olivers had kept him off the Governor's Council. James Otis Jr. inherited his father's rancor, which was fueled by Governor Bernard's 1760 appointment of Thomas Hutchinson as Chief Justice, a post the elder Otis had also coveted. While too much can be made of the feud and Otis' vow to avenge his family's honor, it is a good example of how bitter rivalries among political clans affected local and imperial loyalties. When British policy played into this volatile mixture, adept politicians such as James Otis, Jr., John Adams, and Sam Adams could make use of it to send the Governor's friends reeling, as in the aftermath of the Stamp Act.

Waters concludes that the younger Otis's erratic behavior was the product of more than just mental instability--Otis was more moderate than Sam Adams, and while championing non-importation, he remained unable to confront the imperial authority, a beating at the hands of Customs Commissioner John Robinson, and the growing popularity of other figures in the patriot movement, all contributed to Otis's later mental unhinging and political eclipse. Joseph and Samuel Allyne Otis continued the family's trading and political ventures, but with diminishing success. The Otises, elite leaders of the Revolution, wrestled for power with the Tories and neutralists who better represented Barnstable opinion. They probably did not enjoy the irony that the republican ideology unleashed by the Revolution they supported meant an end to their style of familial politics.

Edmund and Helen Morgan. The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution. New York: Collier Books, 1962. (paper)

This book is intended to provide a sense of balance about the American Revolution--with the single exception of Daniel Dulany, it is an account of royal officials and conservative men whose lives the Stamp Act crisis swept up and whirled away. The Morgans review the circumstances around the devising of the Sugar Act, with its promise of a stamp act to come, and find Lord Grenville's offer of a year's grace for the colonists to formulate their own tax plan to be a hoax. While he proposed that the colonies make voluntary contributions, he never raised the issue officially or gave them an idea of the amount desired. Although Francis Bernard and Thomas Hutchinson opposed the Stamp

Act, they were required by virtue of their public positions to enforce it once the bill became law. Jared Ingersoll and John Hughes seized positions as Stamp Act Collectors only to find themselves off course from their fellow Americans, and unable or unwilling to sail with the popular wind. One major result of the Stamp Act Crisis was the destruction of the prestige of conservative men such as these, who might have moderated the colonists' actions in the years that followed.

In Parliament, proponents of repeal, aided and abetted by a wily Benjamin Franklin, presented the colonists as objecting to internal taxation only. In fact, the colonists consistently denied Parliament's right to levy any taxes on them but such a bold resistance to Parliamentary authority would have been found intolerable. On the other hand, the Declaratory Act passed by Parliament merely restated Parliamentary authority; members of Parliament understood that to include the right to tax, even though it was not expressly stated. The colonists, overjoyed at repeal, were allowed to misunderstand Parliament's intentions. Thus the stage was set for future misunderstanding and conflict: Parliament would levy presumably unobjectionable "external" taxes (duties to raise revenue), which the colonists would find a violation of Parliament's good faith. The discrediting of moderate men meant that little would be done to correct these misconceptions, and while Parliament saw the colonies marching toward independence, the colonists perceived a Parliamentary conspiracy to enslave them.

While on many counts an excellent work, The Stamp Act Crisis leaves the reader with the impression that the colonies were, like a gun, primed and ready to be fired at any time after

1765. The Morgans leave little room for the developments of the next ten years and a more gradual disintegration of ties of loyalty. The authors view the conservatives' fall from places of influence as a crucial event--without asking how these men could have been more successful in tempering colonial actions in 1775 than they were in 1765. Finally, the people, the stuff of the Revolution, are presented as an inert, mindless mass, awaiting arousal by cabals of independence-plotting men like Sam Adams. One wonders how such a people could have sustained the Revolution.

Hiller B. Zobel. The Boston Massacre. New York: W. W. Norton, 1970. (paper)

The first chapters of the book cover the usual background material on the Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Customs Commissioners, and the Liberty riot. Zobel's use of court records, as well as his legal training, inform his work, especially an excellent discussion of the mob which tore down Thomas Hutchinson's house. The author describes a series of violent confrontations, each vividly and painstakingly recreated, to build a crescendo of violence in which the Boston Massacre is the final chord. The gradual breakdown of law, the helplessness of officials, and the transfer of authority from province and town officials to the Sons-of-Liberty-led mobs form the framework within which the violence occurs. Disorder is magnified, however, by Zobel's reliance on elite and Tory sources, and he follows the traditional line that sees the Boston crowd as actuated by Sam Adams' propaganda machine. In addition, many chapters are sharply sketched vignettes, but are not interwoven into the narrative. If Zobel had drawn out the implications

of the massacre for Boston in the years subsequent to it, the book would have contributed more to our knowledge of the period. Did the calm before the Tea Party perhaps result from the sobering effects of the killings? However, for the violent events of 1765-1770 and for the analysis of the massacre trials, the book is likely to remain the definitive work.

Benjamin Woods Labaree. The Boston Tea Party. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. (paper)

The Boston Tea Party was the catalyst in overturning the calm of 1771-1773. The anger it aroused in England caused the Ministry to throw caution to the winds in imposing the Coercive Acts upon Massachusetts, an action which in turn resounded alarms through the colonial countryside. Although the Tea Party found few defenders outside of Boston, the Coercive Acts awoke the other colonies to the threat posed against chartered liberty (see David Ammerman, cited below). Benjamin Labaree traces the background of the tea duty that brewed so much trouble in 1773; he includes chapters on the use of tea, British economic policy, the reorganization of the East India Company, and on the fateful decision itself.

In no other colony did the colonial officials and the East India Company's consignees cooperate as closely as they did in Massachusetts. The redoubtable Governor Thomas Hutchinson was unlikely to see his sons Thomas and Elisha suffer for importing East India tea; another consignee, Richard Clarke, was also tied to the Hutchinson clan through his daughter's marriage to young Thomas. Boston's radical reputation had suffered too--during the earlier non-importation agreement, it was said that Bostonians

had been more addicted to their tea than to their principles. Hutchinson's sense of duty and his familial ties, and the Bostonian's need to stand bluff in order to preserve their honor, produced a situation where no one could compromise. Labaree concludes that the Tea Party and the Coercive Acts revived discussions of colonial rights as rumors of an Anglican establishment, crown salaries for colonial officials, and even taxation had not. With implimentation of the Coercive Acts, the disintegration of British authority was near.

Esther Forbes. Paul Revere and the World He Lived In. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941 (paper).

This is a colorfully written, sympathetic account of the life and times of Paul Revere. Forbes designed the book for a popular audience, a source of both its strengths and its weaknesses. It includes much anecdotal material, but little of use to the serious student; there are many undocumented assertions, such as blanket statements about the possibility of achieving success, and a mixing of fact and fable. The book finds it worth in the warm and personable Paul Revere who emerges from its pages. Forbes finds him a modern man, not out of tune with changing times, able to go from craftsman to entrepreneur, and stepping comfortably from the eighteenth into the nineteenth centuries. The author includes details of all the famous exploits of Boston's Revolutionary generation, and has a fine eye for character sketches. But a Pulitzer Prize for history?

Pauline Maier, "Coming to Terms With Samuel Adams," American Historical Review, Vol. 81, No. 1 (February, 1976), 12-37.

Sam Adams, the fomenter of revolution, the minister of independence, and the Svengali of the Boston mob, is more the product of historical fiction than fact according to Professor Maier. Adams did not move toward independence at a significantly faster pace than many of his contemporaries; and he could hardly manipulate public opinion to favor a goal he did not yet espouse. Adams acquired his reputation as the Revolution became transformed into a more conservative War for Independence. Symbols of resistance to authority had to be cleansed, forgotten, or clothed in pejorative garb in order to fit into the national mythology. Adams, described by Edward Everett as "the last of the Puritans," was an ascetic revolutionary, cold and austere, someone whom later generations would have found difficulty sympathizing with, even without the distortion surrounding his career. Maier here reclaims him as an important part of our revolutionary past.

Pauline Maier. From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776. New York: Random House, 1972. (paper)

A discussion of the extra-institutional character of mobs in English tradition, and a chapter on the ideology of the Commonwealth-men provide the background for this work on the growth of radical resistance to Britain. Maier goes on to describe colonial actions from the Stamp Act riots to the final dissolution of imperial ties in 1776 as corresponding to the Whig theory

of escalating resistance to encroaching tyranny. The Americans did not oppose authority, but rather the men who exercised it wantonly; they gradually developed extra-governmental structures, such as the committees of safety, to maintain an ordered society while creating a revolution.

The Americans viewed the crisis in imperial affairs as the result of a conspiracy among venal men, first limited to British colonial officials, then expanding to the Ministry and gradually encompassing Parliament, and finally centering on the King himself. The English people proved too corrupt to defend their own liberty, and as liberty's last best hope, the Americans rebelled.

The one flaw in this otherwise masterful monograph is Maier's inability to fit some of the colonial mobs into her ideological typology. The attack on Thomas Hutchinson's house during the Stamp Act crisis is dismissed as the work of a conspiracy of merchants. The Liberty riot and the Boston Massacre caught patriot leaders by surprise. The Sons of Liberty used these riots to illustrate the results of British tyranny, but refused to defend the violence. The possibility that these riots were the workings of the mob in response to class-conscious grievances is hinted at but unfortunately never explored. They remain loose ends in this otherwise neatly tied intellectual package.

THE REVOLUTION

Gordon S. Wood, "Rhetoric and Reality in the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXIII No. 1 (January, 1966), 3-32.

Wood here reviews the historiography of the

American Revolution, and suggests new areas where research is necessary. He proposes that the idealist and behavioralist schools of historical thinking merge in order to present a view of the Revolution in which we see men's ideas as they corresponded to their social circumstances.

The Progressive school of historians, which found ideas ancilliary to materialist (often economic) motives, was replaced by a neo-Whig school which defended the high ideals of the colonists and emphasized the role of ideas in the coming of the Revolution. They found no evidence of base self-interest or class conflict; rather Americans fought for abstractions such as liberty. Bernard Bailyn has carried this position to its pinnacle, examining not only statements of constitutional principle, but also the more extravagant and paranoid modes of thought as well. According to his view, ideas take on a life of their own and bring men to conclusions that were initially only partially visible or completely unforeseen. Wood finds that the vitality of hysterical thought indicates the existence of social tensions idealist historians have missed. While rhetoric might not reveal what was factually real, it does tell us what for the colonists was "psychologically true" (p. 31). Wood concludes, "only the most revolutionary social needs and circumstances would have sustained such revolutionary ideas" (p. 25).

Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXIV No. 1 (January, 1967), 3-43.

Morgan offers an interpretation of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period in which Americans are motivated to defend a Puritan

Ethic of frugality, simplicity, industry, and concern for the common good. Britain violated this Ethic through uncontrolled Parliamentary taxation, which attacked property, the source of liberty, as well as the virtues of frugality and industry that allowed men to accumulate their wealth. Gradually Americans became convinced that separation from England was the only means of staving off this assault.

Independence, however, did not bring a respite from encroaching corruption. Commerce depended on desire for luxury (the antithesis of frugality and simplicity), and merchants were suspected as exploiters of people's weaknesses. Southerners as well as northerners attacked slavery--if only because it threatened to undermine the master's industry. Within the Continental Congress, suspicion of cosmopolitan financiers, who were accused of placing profit before patriotism, was a source of division even as each side claimed adherence to Puritan virtues. In the 1790s and after, the Puritan Ethic provided the terms for a political consensus: each party could mourn its decline, and proclaim itself the exemplar of what was left. Finally Morgan finds the Puritan Ethic one force behind the formation of a federal government. State governments had sought unsuccessfully to dam the flood of British manufactured goods into America. Luxury and dependence on England were afoot once more, and it was thought only a national government could encourage American manufacturing and secure economic independence.

Morgan emphasizes the Puritan Ethic rather than English Whig tradition as the intellectual source of the American Revolution. The article as such is a good example of an idealist

interpretation of history, and the reader will find it convincing to the degree to which he believes that ideas, independent of material circumstances, move men.

Bernard Bailyn. The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. (paper)

Bailyn maintains that the crisis of the 1760s forced Americans to confront changes in society and politics that demanded the formulation of a new ideology. Traditional ideas of sovereignty, representation, rights, constitutions, and the role of rulers were revised in light of American experience. In a sense, Americans went to war in 1775 to defend a Revolution that had already occurred.

The Americans' ideology was an amalgam of many sources: the classics, English legal thought, Puritan theology, the Enlightenment, and the Commonwealth period's radical traditions. Americans' knowledge of history and philosophy convinced them of liberty's frail nature which had to be safeguarded against power's corruptions. Seen through these ideological eyes, events after 1765 took on an ominous form. Parliament's actions convinced the colonists that a Ministerial plot had been hatched to deprive them of their liberty. When the source of this conspiracy was traced upward to include the King, revolution became necessary since there were no other means to redress their grievances.

The experience of articulating their beliefs led the colonists to find new sources for sovreignty, and to divide power in such a way as to prevent its usurpation of liberty. Government became limited and laws were examined

against a Constitution that had become a written set of principles. In his final chapter, Bailyn discusses the repercussions of this new ideology on American thinking about slavery, the establishment of religion, and hierarchy and authority in society. In sum, Bailyn explores the parameters of the colonial worldview and traces the roots of an ideological revolution.

Bernard Bailyn. The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974. (paper)

This is a sympathetically written, masterful biography of a political conservative, unable to operate in a realm of passionate ideological politics. Hutchinson was a practical politician, at ease in the factional strife of provincial Massachusetts, and he accepted completely the terms of a traditional political world. When that world was condemned as tyrannous and corrupt, Hutchinson could only respond with a reasoned defense of the premises around which his life had been based. He was perpetually caught in the middle: although he opposed the Stamp Act, he believed in the rule of law and found repugnant the extra-legal measures used against it; he did not want troops quartered in Boston, but after the Boston Massacre, he agonized and ordered them out, an act which exceeded his authority; he wished to decline the governorship, but could not do so for fear of embarassing his English patrons; a scrupulously honest man, he was forced by circumstances to act deceitfully. Pursuit of position and power led to Hutchinson's entrapment between increasingly radical colonists, who viewed the governor as the principal in a conspiracy against

American liberty, and his distant superiors, who vacillated in their attempts to resolve a constitutional crisis. Hutchinson's two articles of faith, that America must remain tied to England in order to preserve her liberty, and that sovereignty lay indivisibly with the King in Parliament, were becoming heretical to his fellow colonists. The tragedy of Thomas Hutchinson was that, equipped so well he still became swept up by forces of history that rendered his political beacons useless. Quintessentially American, he ended his life in lonely exile.

David Ammerman. In the Common Cause: American Response to the Coercive Acts of 1774. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975. (paper)

Ammerman finds that the Coercive Acts created an unprecedented consensus among Americans. The Continental Congress was remarkably unanimous in supporting the non-importation agreement and divided seriously only over constitutional questions concerning the role of the colonies in the imperial system. The chief item of dispute, then, was Parliament's authority to regulate colonial trade, with many delegates opposing a blanket assertion of that right.

Pennsylvanian Joseph Galloway later declared that the Congress was seriously divided, with a small radical contingent that manipulated the moderates into supporting the Suffolk Resolves and other radical measures. Galloway maintained that his Plan of Union, proposing an American Congress sharing authority with Parliament over the colonies, was defeated by one vote and later expunged from the records, and historians since have cited his recollections

as accurate. Ammerman finds, however, that Galloway's plan was never seriously considered--six colonies agreed that it might be discussed at a later date, and five wanted to reject it immediately. Furthermore, only measures actually adopted found their way into the records, and suggestions for arming colonial troops, along with Galloway's Plan, went unrecorded.

Ammerman concludes that the First Continental Congress was more unanimous and more radical than heretofore believed. Overturning traditional caveats about the depth of American consensus in opposing British measures in 1774, however, should raise questions about the divisiveness of the war years. Why were Whig leaders unable to translate this consensus into action against the British? Ammerman's sources--diaries, newspaper, letters--reveal little about the embattled farmers who would actually fight. Assumptions of consensus among the colonists are not proven by evidence of consensus within the Continental Congress or among colonial leaders.

Richard D. Brown. Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774. New York: W. W. Norton, 1976. (paper)

Brown finds local affairs primary in Massachusetts political consciousness, and he suggests that disputes between the Assembly and the Governor over salary and other issues took place in an atmosphere of stability. The Stamp Act exposed the brittle nature of this balance, however, as in its aftermath the Whigs purged their opponents, while the governor battled to save his administration through patronage. Boston led but did not create opposition to the Stamp

Act: Massachusetts was already "tinged with Radical Whiggery" (p. 23). The function of the Boston Committee of Correspondence as it developed was to organize the expression of these sentiments.

Proposals for Crown salaries for the governor and judges provided the Boston opposition in 1772, especially Sam Adams and the radical itinerant, Dr. Thomas Young, with issues around which the committee could be organized. Called into being by the Boston town meeting, the Boston Committee prepared a statement of rights and grievances which it circulated among the towns. Brown discovered that the Boston Committee carefully wooed town opinion and cultivated local pride--but the wide range of response "from silent repudiation to admiring applause" (p. 120) reveals an independent spirit that would have resisted any attempted manipulation. The BCC may have been evangelical in its message, but the body to which it preached already included many faithful.

As the towns indicated their support, the role of the Boston Committee shifted, first to one of co-ordinating local activity, then to one of arousing other colonies. The independence of towns newly drawn into provincial affairs is seen in their rejection of the Solemn League and Covenant proposed by the Boston Committee. Provisions for an immediate non-importation agreement, enforced by a stringent secondary boycott, proved too divisive for the towns to endorse. Local unity and the preservation of order remained their priorities, as they implicitly rejected Boston's leadership.

The Boston Committee had served its purpose, however, Brown concludes it had played an integrating role in Massachusetts politics. While

localism still reigned, an awareness of and participation in larger concerns had occurred. The Committee encouraged the towns to formulate an ideology of the sovereignty of the people on which republican government would be based. It was a lasting and revolutionary achievement.

Kenneth Lockridge, "Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution," Journal of Social History, 6(1973), 403-439.

Kenneth Lockridge offers a social hypothesis for the origins of the American Revolution. He finds that colonial society after 1720 undergoes some of the throes of modernization but without an attendant increase in per capita production or income. Population growth, higher population densities, an increased rate of immigration, commercialization, and concentration of wealth led to social differentiation and some measure of social polarization. Commercialization occurred unevenly, which heightened sectional differences as well; the sum of these changes meant an increase in wealth for a few and deteriorating social conditions for many.

Lockridge hypothesizes that these social permutations created increased demands on the political system. Certain regions would be sensitive to trends like the concentration of wealth, the decline in social equality and opportunity, and increasing dependence; the commercial-non-commercial regional split in politics may have been the result. In a society of small homogeneous, relatively independent towns these changes would appear to be "catastrophic alterations of an idyllic and holy past" (p. 424). To people caught up by these forces, pleas for virtue and sermons against corruption could have struck a responsive chord--and the Revolution may have

seemed a way to restore the past.

The traditional elite would have found their position threatened by new demands on their mediating roles. Their wealth may have made them suspect, as their interests would obviously be different from those of their neighbors. The constitutional crisis with Britain would supply these men with an opportunity to regain credibility, however. Lockridge suggests that modern men, cosmopolitans who were ready by training and experience to accept a pluralistic world of the sort described by James Madison in Federalist No. 10, would supply leadership in the creation of the Constitution and in the new nation. The Constitution can be viewed as a uniquely modern document--one "designed to accomodate contending interests" (p. 436). America, he concludes, had ideologically modernized as a result of the Revolution and the social strains of the eighteenth century. The chief drawback of this model, as Lockridge admits, is that it may not be applicable outside of New England. However, it is a further step in placing the Revolution and the growth of republican ideology within their social contexts.

Robert A. Gross. The Minutemen and Their World. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976. (paper).

Life in provincial Concord ticked to a seasonal clock. Men's horizons were limited to the fields they plowed and to the markets in which they sold their produce. The political issues that aroused the town more often than not had to do with keeping one man's cattle out of another man's field; provincial affairs rarely impinged upon the town, and when they did, men wiser in the ways of the world than the common folk could be trusted to make the right deci-

sions. Existence, if not idyllic, was at least habitual.

Concord was not, however, a peaceable kingdom; it was beset by troubles like those found by Lockridge in Dedham and Greven in Andover (both cited above): a scarcity of land, and the resulting necessity for men of modest means to see their children remain and become part of a lower class, move to new settlements, or spend a life in transience; sparring between the generations; the declining productivity of worn-out acres; religious dissension; and demands by "outlivers" for a larger share of the town budget or the right to make their own town. Stamp acts and tea duties often seemed peripheral issues in this local world. But the loss of town meeting rights did not; nor did the "hordes of placemen" who, according to Whig rhetoric, were coming to feast at the colonists' tables. Concord's independence and localism were threatened, and the townspeople organized to save them. Resistance to Britain also offered, for a while at least, a means of healing the divisions within the town.

The war began as a community effort--the militia was a microcosm of town society--but ended as an affair of the poor. Farmers could hardly afford to let their farms go untended or be left to the exclusive care of their womenfolk; but men of means could hire substitutes to take a British ball in their stead. Wartime inflation and scarcity also disrupted patriotic unity.

Life after the Revolution changed little for women and blacks; a few men still dominated office-holding--although they were expected to follow instructions and represent town interests as defined by the town meeting. Concord also would no longer be as isolated as it had been in the past. A measure of pluralism was

introduced by men who had experienced something of the world, and Boston would play a larger role in Concord's life. Gross concludes that men had gone to war in 1775 to halt the process of change; the war however accelerated that pace, and Concord would be reluctantly drawn out of its eddy and into the stream of modern life.

The most remarkable feature of this meticulously researched and elegantly written book is the wealth of detail the author has unearthed about Concord and its people. This is more than a local history, however. The book answers Gordon Wood's call to investigate the social circumstances that underlay colonial rhetoric. Gross has succeeded in linking the all-too-often divergent realms of ideology and experience, and in describing the metamorphosis of a pre-modern community.

Alfred F. Young (ed.). The American Revolution. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976. (paper)

This collection of essays is a refreshing antidote to the overly ideological and history-from-the-top-down approaches of many historians. Here we see the urban mob as the shock troops of the Revolution, sometimes pushed by Whig leadership and sometimes pushing it, using the crisis in imperial affairs to express their own grievances about the operation of society. They share in a popular culture, perhaps a mixture of evangelism and rational republicanism, quite independent from and yet occasionally merging with Whig ideology. Society's disaffected--tenant farmers, country backwoodsmen, blacks--remained suspicious of and sometimes hostile to an Independence movement led by the local gentry. Blacks were more interested in freedom

than Independence, freedom which could be gotten by fighting for the British or by taking advantage of war's turmoil and stealing away. Blacks basked for a moment in the ideological sunshine of "all men are created equal" before being slammed back into the shadows of slavery and a pervasive racism. To women the Revolution was largely irrelevant; to Indians it was disaster. But whether Tory, Patriot, or neutral, "the classes that are acted upon" emerge here as the actors, and that, despite the uneven quality of the essays, should recommend this volume.

Gordon S. Wood. The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787. New York: W. W. Norton, 1969. (paper)

Gordon Wood describes how the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary experience transformed the intellectual tools of the rebels of 1776. Traditional Whig concepts of Parliamentary sovereignty, mixed government, a deliberative legislative body, and the need for republican virtue became the sovereignty of the people, the separation of powers, a representative legislative body, and a balance of conflict among self-interested men from which the public good would emerge.

The most important changes occurred in the people's role in government. Formerly merely embodied in the Commons of Parliament, the people in Federalist theory were embodied in the entire government, but remained superior to it, as the source of sovereignty. Power and liberty were no longer locked in conflict: power flowed from the people and was separated and lodged in the different branches of govern-

ment, whose actions could be judged against a written Constitution. Government no longer represented society's different estates, but in a modern conception of society and politics, it was an arena in which different interest groups conflicted. Wood's achievement is his analysis of how American reality and Whig rhetoric interacted to produce a new, though often inchoate, synthesis, termed the "American science of politics."

Boston An Urban Community

Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Douglass Shand Tucci
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

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Boston Public Library, 1977

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FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

The first two eight-week learning sequences were:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975. [Repeated as "From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture," February 5 - March 25, 1976.]

INTRODUCTION

There are very few books in print--they are all here--that are only about Boston architecture. Many more books about Boston, however, deal at greater or lesser length with various of the city's buildings, though in larger contexts, and some of these will also be found listed here because they are often the best books to begin with. Obviously, one could go further. But precisely because I don't suppose any history of American or even of world architecture could very well avoid the inevitable illustration of Trinity Church or, indeed, of McKim's Boston Public Library, it would be unreasonable to do so. Students in search of such a general history of American architecture, into which they can fit Boston, might well read John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown's The Architecture of America (Boston, 1961).

There is another type of work that one might expect to find here, but which I have also ruled out; the very many books and articles that have been written about Boston architects and their artist-collaborators. Henry-Russell Hitchcock's and James O'Gorman's books about Richardson, Harold Kirker's The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch and other such works about Walter Gropius or Ralph Adams Cram or John LaFarge for instance--all of these could under different rubrics be listed here. But by no means all (and in many cases not even most) of the work of such Boston architects of national importance is actually in Boston. This is also true even of less-well-known Boston architects: Julius A. Schweinfurth, for example, about whom Northeastern University published an informative study by Stephen J. Neitz (edited by Wheaton Holden) in 1975. There is much on Schweinfurth's Boston work in this booklet but there is naturally as much or more on his work elsewhere and this reading list would become a book in itself if such

studies were to be included. The same consideration has led me to omit books about only one building; the guidebooks to Trinity Church or to the State House, for example. Nearly every important building has yielded a useful guide, and it would be very hard to know where to draw the line.

Finally, the reader should remember that several excellent books on Boston Architecture--Arthur Kilham's Boston After Bulfinch, for example--are no longer in print. Many of these will be found in the bibliographies of the works listed here, and the serious student will not ignore them. Nor should the student neglect the enormous literature on Boston architecture that has appeared in the architectural and craft journals (as well as in the journals of art history and local history) in the course of the last seventy-five or more years. These articles are easily located in the Fine Arts Department of the Boston Public Library, where an enthusiastic staff hardly ever fails to turn up what is wanted promptly and cheerfully.

This reading list was prepared for "Boston Architecture: From the First Townhouse to the New City Hall," a sequence offered in the Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Gerald A. Bernstein, Professor of Fine Arts at Brandeis Univeristy, taught the sequence during February and March 1975.

D.S.T.

Boston,
1 September 1975

NOTE ON THE SECOND EDITION

It is a measure of the increasing public interest in Boston's architecture that the first printing of this reading list should have been exhausted in less than two years. Nor is it less significant that in those two years a number of new works have been published on the subject, all of which now take their place in this second edition. There is still no actual architectural history of Boston to include here, but this appalling lack I hope to meet with my own book (the working title of which is Built in Boston: City and Suburb) a New York Graphic Society Book to be published by Little, Brown in the fall of 1978.

Professor Gerald Bernstein's very popular course, for which this reading list was originally prepared in 1975, was repeated in February and March 1976 under the title "From Grass to Glass: A History of Boston's Architecture." The present list is intended as a supplement to both versions of that course.

D.S.T.

Boston,
2 July 1977

1. Walter Muir Whitehill. Boston: A Topographical History. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968.

   This is the one indispensable book for the study of Boston, the development of which Mr. Whitehill traces from its first settlement to the present day. Beautifully organized and beautifully written, the tale unfolds with the ease and clarity one would expect from this distinguished historian and careful stylist. Though not in the strict sense an architectural book, there is naturally almost as much architecture as topography here, and most of the major landmarks of the city are dealt with. More importantly, however, this book describes the topographical context in which these buildings arose and (alas) so often were destroyed.

2. David McCord. About Boston: Sight, Sound, Flavor and Inflection. Boston, Little, Brown, 1948.

   The happy issue of a series of mid-forties radio shows on Boston, this book has understandably come to be regarded as something of a classic, and it follows Whitehill's Topographical History here for good reason: Whitehill having assembled the skeleton, as it were, McCord's graceful sampling of the flavor of the city is perhaps the perfect companion. Though there is much of Boston's architecture, McCord ranges from "the fractionation of blood" to the "Dorchester Giant" and does not overlook either cod or "hasty pudding" while musing in many an odd corner of the old city that might otherwise have gone unnoticed. It is, to be sure, rather at random. But McCord is pre-eminently a poet, never more so than when he writes prose, and no one in this generation has written better about Boston.

3. George F. Weston, Jr. Boston Ways: High, By and Folk. (Revised ed.) Boston, 1967.

This, too, is a sort of ramble about Boston, which in this case focuses on the city's streets, but it also turns many a forgotten corner. Because as many odd and unknown as famous buildings are noticed, it is a beguiling ramble which students of Boston architecture will profit from undertaking.

4. Marjorie Drake Ross. Colonial Boston; Federal Boston; Victorian Boston. New York, 1960, 1961, 1964.

Marjorie Drake Ross' three volume series on Boston, an outgrowth of the Museum of Fine Arts "Know Your Boston" tours, remains perhaps the best general introduction to a city old enough to be rather complicated. Beginners, particularly, will gain a sense of the overall cultural and economic growth of Boston through three and more centuries, from which they can the better subsequently develop their more particular interests. Architecture figures importantly in these three highly visual books, which deal successively with Colonial, Federal, and Victorian Boston, and the texts are uniformly simple and readable.

5. Boston Society of Architects. Boston Architecture. Cambridge, Mass., 1970.
6. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr. A Guide to Boston Architecture, 1637-1954. New York, 1954.

These two books are the only extant attempts to survey the whole range of Boston architecture from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Neither is very satisfactory, however, The newer work, published by the Bos-

ton Society of Architects, has an introduction by John Coolidge that is naturally as excellent as his wide knowledge of the city's architecture would lead one to expect, but the rest of the book is disappointing. The sections of the city treated, and the buildings noticed, are rather arbitrary, and the 1880-1940 period is hardly dealt with at all--this despite much "atmospherics" (creative photography of tenement trash dumps, for instance) that might have given flavor to a better book, but are in this case small compensation for what is left out. Hitchcock's work provides a far better grounding in architecture hereabouts, though occasionally unreliable in fact, but much of the best recent architecture in and around Boston (the new City Hall, for instance) was not here in 1954, and the book is accordingly now rather dated. One does need one of these books, however, for each has the parade of dates one cannot as conveniently find elsewhere.

7. Marvin E. Goody and Robert P. Walsh, eds. Boston Society of Architects. The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967. Boston, 1967.

Joseph Hudnut, Walter Muir Whitehill, Kenneth Conant, Jose Luis Sert and others have combined here to write a significant history of the Boston Society of Architects. Particularly interesting are the brief profiles of distinguished local architects of national reputation--Charles Donagh Maginnis and R. Clipston Sturgis, for instance--whose work is not widely known but has of late become more interesting to scholars. The photographic archive of the buildings that have earned the J. Harleston Parker Award is also of great interest, while the dozens of articles about such relatively unknown but important groups as the Master Builders Association are invaluable.

8. Cambridge Historical Commission. A Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge. (4 volumes) Cambridge, 1965, 1967, 1971, 1973.
   Vol. 1 East Cambridge, 1965.
   Vol. 2 Antoinette F. Downing, Elizabeth MacDougall, Eleanor Pearson. Mid Cambridge, 1967.
   Vol. 3 Cambridgeport, 1971.
   Vol. 4 Bainbridge Bunting and Robert H. Nylander. Old Cambridge, 1973.

This extraordinary four-volume series is a thorough, well-written and lavishly illustrated survey of everything in Cambridge, and is therefore useful in a number of ways. All the famous and distinguished buildings are here, but so are the "three deckers" and the factories, the Queen Anne extravaganzas and the workers cottages. And while each volume is written for the general reader, with clear and well-organized introductions to each section, the discussions of each building-type and of representative examples are unfailingly sophisticated. The student drawn towards architectural history will find these books very exciting, particularly the first volume.

9. Bainbridge Bunting. Houses of Boston's Back Bay. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967.

Houses of Boston's Back Bay is the sort of book one judges other books by. Very few compare favorably. Grounded in a massive scholarship, this quite large book nonetheless reads esaily--largely because it is so clearly organized. Everyone will miss a house or two--some of my favorites are missing, too--but I doubt anyone has ever resented such omissions: there is so much in this book, after all, where previously there was nothing. Pertinently illustrated,

with helpful graphs, the interior views are particularly welcome for most of the Back Bay lurks still behind closed doors, and what does not, mostly now institutional, is often not used very sensitively. The checklist of houses at the end is, of its type, unique hereabouts--and it is a more than helpful reference to still obscure architects. The text is full of the sort of data about Victorian houses that are not generally available, and is therefore of wider use than the title would suggest, while Bunting's discussion of the development of the Back Bay itself, and of the morphology of late nineteenth-century American architecture, is invaluable. This is a book worthy of its subject, which is, after all, perhaps the largest and most distinguished concentration of urban Victorian domestic architecture in America.

10. Museum of Fine Arts. Back Bay Boston: The City as a Work of Art. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1969.

A beautiful companion to Bunting's book, this sumptuously printed work, with stunning color and black and white photography, includes important essays by Lewis Mumford and Walter Muir Whitehill and a series of useful profiles of distinguished residents of the Back Bay. Their houses are identified, as well as some of their more notable gifts to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which published this distinguished catalogue for a show of the same name. Although the book is poorly documented, it yields the flavor of the nineteenth-century city superbly.

11. Sam Bass Warner, Jr. Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1962.
12. Douglass Shand Tucci. The Second Settlement, 1875-1925. Boston, Charlescraft Press, 1974.
13. Cynthia Zaitzevsky. William Ralph Emerson, 1833-1917. Cambridge, 1969.

Publishers often claim for a new book that it is a seminal work, that it uncovers so much that it is bound to be the foundation for a whole new line of inquiry. Often, this is at best enthusiasm, but in the case of Streetcar Suburbs, the contention that it is a vital building block is almost unarguable. Almost nobody knew anything of Victorian Dorchester, Roxbury, and Jamaica Plain before this book, or of how in the 1875-1925 period a whole new residential city was developed there by refugees from Boston determined to be able to breathe again, much less how this was all accomplished. But since Warner's book, which is well organized and well written, and amply illustrated and fully documented as well, scholars have found this vast and overlooked area increasingly interesting. Indeed, this new interest has yielded a case study in Dorchester's growth, The Second Settlement, 1875-1925. Focusing on the area's architectural development, the author asserts that Dorchester's dense streetscapes were an attempt to revive in an expanding city the early nineteenth-century detached townhouse concept that had been abandoned on Beacon Hill a century earlier for the connected variant in a contracting city. Another work of scarcely less interest in this field, though it deals more with the outer rather than the inner suburbs of the time, is Cynthia Zaitzevsky's William Ralph Emerson, 1833-1917, a pioneering excursion into

the adventuresome work of a long overlooked Boston architect whose suburban estate houses continue to fascinate. All these books, of course, owe a great deal to Vincent Scully's The Shingle Style which, though it only very briefly deals with Boston, is invaluable background. Though the context is larger, Rettig's Cambridge Walking Tours (see below) includes much streetcar suburbs architecture, which he treats with ease and seriousness.

14. Robert Bell Rettig. A Guide to Cambridge Architecture: Ten Walking Tours. Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1969.

These ten walking tours are probably the best the layman could take in or around Boston. The author manages to deal fairly and on its own terms with virtually the whole (in a representative way) of Cambridge architecture, which the Cambridge Historical Commission (whose research this book is based upon) early concluded is not limited to eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Harvard Yard and Brattle Street. Vernacular design, for example, even in the 1930's, is fully dealt with, and as these images of Cambridge's architectural diversity through two and more centuries are fairly representative of what went on throughout the Greater Boston area, this book remains a gold mine for student and layman alike.

15. Margaret Smith and Pauline Chase Harrell, eds. Victorian Boston Today: Ten Walking Tours. Boston, The Victorian Society in America, New England Chapter, 1975.

This book makes a good beginning at what must be a principal preoccupation of architectural historians in Boston for many years to come--the

documentation of what little remains to us of Victorian architecture in Boston. Though large and important sections of the city are not touched upon (Hyde Park, Brighton, West Roxbury, and--the largest of all--Dorchester) surely subsequent volumes will answer this need. For even the predictable tours included--this is particularly true of the Back Bay tour--are adventuresome, and several do break out of the conventional boundaries to explore such relatively overlooked parts of the city as Jamaica Plain and South Boston. One tour ventures even so far as to Brookline. Several tours--notably those on Boston women in the Victorian age and on the stations of the Boston Elevated--also give variety and interest to the collection, in that they are more topical than geographical. Naturally, the work of the ten authors is uneven in quality, but the overall quality is good, and one cannot help hoping for a whole shelf of such volumes in years to come. Certainly students of the period will be very grateful for the first.

16. Douglass Shand Tucci. Church Building in Boston, 1720-1970. Concord, N.H., Rumford Press, 1974.

It used to be said that scholars wrote one book in the text and another in the footnotes. Today, increasingly, one writes still another in the captions--architectural historians particularly having naturally discovered that a significant sequence of photographs has enormous value. Accordingly, this survey of Boston church architecture is in two parts: the first is a photographic archive with extensive captions that trace the stylistic development of church design in Boston from 1720 to 1970, and is perhaps most interesting for its radical geographical and de-

nominational diversity. For the churches illustrated are drawn from the Catholic as well as from the Protestant traditions, and not only from the North End-Beacon Hill-Back Bay-Cambridge axis, but from throughout the city and its suburbs, neither of which have been traditional in surveys of Boston architecture. Moreover, the early and mid-twentieth-century work that has been usually ignored is emphasized in the photographic archive, and is in fact the primary concern in part two, where the author undertakes the first serious discussion of the work of the distinguished Boston architect, Ralph Adams Cram, who revolutionized the visual image of American Christianity in the early twentieth century, and of the "Boston Gothicists," a group of Boston architects and artist-collaborators who exercised in Cram's wake a decisive leadership in American church design during this period. Actually, "Church Design in Boston" might have been a better title for this book, the concept of which was to discuss churches actually in Boston in Part One, and churches throughout the country designed by the Boston Gothicists in Part Two. The second part of the book, however, is now somewhat outdated, and students are referred to the authors' more recent Ralph Adams Cram: American Medievalist, published by the Boston Public Library in 1976.

17. Joan E. Goody. New Architecture in Boston. Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1965.
18. Eva Jacob. New Architecture in New England. Lincoln, DeCordova Museum, 1974.

Happily, the only works of their kind, which these are, are also both very good. Mostly photographs, and exceptionally good ones, with accompanying notes, Goody's is a small, square

and rather chic book that deals with the whole of the Greater Boston area. Though it naturally includes many of the area's distinguished university buildings, commercial structures and even suburban houses are not overlooked. Jacob's book, of course, spreads a wider net, and scarcely less stylishly, but there is a great deal on Boston's new buildings, and a superb introduction to modern design (generally, as well as in New England) that is brief and very readable.

19. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians. May, 1973. Vol. XXXII, no. 2

This "Boston issue," an outgrowth of an S.A.H. Annual Tour in the Boston area on the work of Richardson's contemporaries, is for the relatively advanced student who is curious as to the latest and most significant scholarship in Boston architectural history. There are six articles: Margaret Henderson Floyd's on John Sturgis' old Copley Square Museum; James O'Gorman's on O. W. Norcross, Richardson's builder; Wheaton Holden's on the work of Peabody and Stearns; Susan Moycock Vogel's introduction to the work of Hartwell and Richardson; Walter Knight Sturges' discussion of Arthur Little and the Colonial Revival, and Cynthia Zaitzevsky's on the structures of Frederick Law Olmsted's park system and on the newly uncovered Hayden Building by H. H. Richardson in Boston.

20. Raymond W. Stanley, ed. Mr. Bulfinch's Boston. Boston, Old Colony Trust Company, 1963.

This delightful slim volume published in 1963 commemorating the 200th anniversary of Charles Bulfinch's birth offers a concise survey of the architect's major Boston buildings. After a brief discussion of Bulfinch's early life, travels, and training, his various Boston projects are treated in chronological order. The more than twenty illustrations are sensitively drawn by Jack Frost and capture the romantic mood of Bulfinch's Federalist style. A list of the architect's extant buildings is very helpful and is accompanied by a map indicating their location.

21. Joseph L. Eldredge. Architecture: Boston. Boston Society of Architects. (Barre Publishing) 1976.

A most interesting book for the student who wishes to learn more about how architects, particularly the Boston offices, have tried virtually to rebuild the city since the Second World War, while honoring what was already here. As architectural history, however, the text is unreliable and it also reflects the author's allegiance to the rather outdated notion that architecture in Boston stopped in 1920 and started again in 1950. Most of the city is also ignored--neither West Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, East Boston, Brighton, South Boston, Roslindale, Hyde Park or Dorchester is included; only downtown Boston, the North End, the Back Bay, the Fenway, the South End, Charlestown, and Roxbury, and only one of the inner suburbs, Cambridge. There is, however, an excellent essay by Walter

Muir Whitehill at the beginning of the book and there are also a great many fine illustrations.

22. A. McVoy McIntyre. Beacon Hill: A Walking Tour. Boston, Little, Brown, 1975.

A charming book, succinct yet anecdotal, and long needed, it is only occasionally misleading. (McKim, Mead and White, who designed the bachelor flats on the corner of Beacon and Charles, built in 1900, not 1890, are too important a firm to have been ignored in the concluding checklist of architects who did work on the hill; on the other hand it is not clear why this checklist should include the Bunker Hill Monument, which is not on Beacon Hill). Robert Polomski's sketches greatly enliven this book, as do William Clift's photographs, but all are maddeningly unidentified; there is not a caption in the entire book. Still, there is no better book with which to go adventuring on Beacon Hill, surely one of the most remarkable neighborhoods of its kind in the country.

23. Boston Redevelopment Authority. Recycled Boston. Boston, 1977.
24. Bostonian Society. Proceedings. 1965+

Though it sometimes seems that BRA publications are longer on graphics than substance, this illustrated survey of adaptive re-use of older buildings in Boston over the last fifty or so years is both fascinating and, of course, heartening; though Vanished Boston, the Bostonian Society's illustrated booklet of buildings no longer extant, makes a sobering companion. (So too, one imagines, will Jane Holz Kay's forthcoming book on the same subject, Lost Boston, to be published in the spring of 1979 by

Houghton Mifflin.) It should be said here that the Bostonian Society has over the years published a number of excellent studies in Boston architectural or topographical history, which are too often out of print to warrant separate listings here but which the Society reprints from time to time when funds permit. In addition to Vanished Boston, which is entirely pictorial, I must mention two of the best of these studies: Walter Muir Whitehill's The Neighborhood of the Tavern Club, 1630-1971 and The Domestic Architecture of Beacon Hill, 1800-1850 by Carl J. Weinhardt, Jr. These and other booklets are worth inquiring about at the Society's headquarters, the Old State House.

25. Douglass Shand Tucci. The Boston Rialto: Playhouses, Concert Halls, and Movie Palaces. Boston, City Conservation League, 1977.

This first authoritative survey of the history of Boston's halls and theatres is full of famous personalities and long forgotten openings. But while personalities and events endow a building with a special character, the author argues chiefly for the architectural value of Boston's theatres, and emphasizes the long overlooked importance of Boston's contributions to the history of American theatre and concert hall design, from Bulfinch's first Boston Theatre of 1794 to the revolutionary Loeb Drama Center of 1959. He notes particularly the achievements of four notable Bostonians: B. F. Keith, the father of American vaudeville, whose 1894 Washington Street theatre was revolutionary in concept and nationally influential; C.H. Blackall, who became the leading American theatre architect of his time; Wallace Sabine, whose accoustical studies decisively influenced American theatre and concert

hall design; and George Pierce Baker of Harvard, who collaborated with Blackall and Sabine to plan the perfect playhouse--built as it turned out not at Harvard but at Yale. There is a scholarly bibliography and a checklist of Boston theatres and their architects.

26. Wayne Andrews. Architecture in New England: A Photographic History. Brattleboro, Vt., Stephen Greene Press, 1973.

There is too much Boston architecture in this book on New England architecture to overlook Wayne Andrews' latest picture book. And many of his photographs are excellent. The text, however, is not edifying.

27. Leslie Larson, editor. Drumlin. Boston, City Conservation League, 1976+.

This bi-monthly, eight-page publication of the City Conservation League, superbly edited and always nicely printed, is increasingly much more than simply the League's newsletter. Centerfold articles by local scholars have included a discussion of "Pinebank" in Jamaica Plain by Margaret Henderson Floyd; "The Other Goth Revival," a plea by Douglass Shand Tucci to take seriously architecture in Boston in the Roman Catholic tradition; and a survey of important South End organs by Thomas Murray. Back issues still in print are available from the CCL.

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Boston An Urban Community

Boston's Artisans of the Eighteenth Century

An Annotated Reading List
Prepared by
Susan Gelb
with the assistance of
the Boston Public
Library Staff

The "Boston: An Urban Community" Program is made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). The Boston Public Library is a NEH Learning Library.

Boston Public Library, 1977

FOREWORD

The Boston Public Library is pleased to present a series of annotated reading guides as a follow-up to the lectures in its NEH Learning Library Program, "Boston: An Urban Community."

The Library's program has been developed under the Cultural Institutions Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a new national program whose purpose is to help libraries, museums and other cultural institutions become centers of formal humanities education for their communities. An advisory committee, composed of outstanding scholars from academic institutions in the Boston area, assists in the selection of topics for the program's learning activities and helps recruit the teachers for it.

Sequences presented in the Program have been:

"Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses: Leadership and the Boston Community" with Thomas O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College. February 3 - April 7, 1975.

"Boston's Architecture: From First Townhouse to New City Hall" with Gerald Bernstein, Professor of Art History, Brandeis University. February 8 - March 29, 1975.

"Family Life in Boston: From Colonial Times to the Present" with Nancy Cott, Professor of History, Yale University. April 3 - May 22, 1975.

"Shaping the Boston Landscape: Drumlins and Puddingstone" with George Lewis, Professor of Geography, Boston University. April 8 - May 27, 1975.

"Revolutionary Boston: The Leaders and the Issues, 1763-1789" with Richard Bushman, Professor of History, Boston University, September 16 - November 4, 1975.

"Culture and Its Conflicts: The Example of 19th-Century Boston" with Martin Green, Professor of English, Tufts University. September 18 - November 6, 1975.

"Boston's Artisans of the 18th Century" with Wendy Cooper, Assistant Curator, American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts. November 13, 1975-January 22, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

This reading list is the product of "Boston's Artisans of the Eighteenth Century, 1725-1815," a sequence in the series offered in the Learning Library Program at the Boston Public Library and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Wendy A. Cooper, Assistant Curator, Department of American Decorative Arts and Sculpture, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, taught the sequence during November and December, 1975, and January, 1976.

The title, "Boston's Artisans of the Eighteenth Century" carries with it a number of connotations: the sequence concerned both artisans and their products and was based on the assumption that both their careers and their creations bore the mark of a particular Boston style of life and of craft. The ninety-year period from 1725 to 1815 was one of enormous change for Boston's artisans. In an urban community that was developing geographically and politically from town to city, most craftsmen were gradually losing social and economic status in spite of their important role in Revolutionary activity. The styles they were working in evolved from the provincial Baroque to republican neoclassical. The craft system was beginning to move from the small shop of the master craftsman to the large manufactory-- the forerunner of the modern factory. To understand these changes in life, style and method is to begin to understand an aspect of America's shift from cultural dependence to independence.

This reading list is divided into three sections. The first deals with the topography of the city of Boston from 1725 to 1815. The second contains works on the artisan community and the social structure of

Boston, focusing on the role of craftsmen in the Revolution and their changing social status. The third section describes the crafts of eighteenth-century Boston and contains biographic materials on individual artisans. In each section, works are arranged from the most general to the most specialized, and non-Boston readings are included where none specific to Boston are available.

S. G.

Section 1: Boston: The Eighteenth-Century City

Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston: A Topographical History. 2d edition, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968. Paperback edition: Harvard University Press.

The definitive twentieth-century work on Boston's physical growth from settlement through the present. In a compact and well-illustrated form, Mr. Whitehill documents the areas important to the commercial and craft communities in colonial Boston and the emergence of new centers of fashion in the Federal period.

Harold Kirker and James Kirker, Bulfinch's Boston, 1787-1817. New York, Oxford University Press, 1964.

This readable study of Boston in the post-revolutionary decades dwells primarily on the social life of the merchants and economic elite, but is useful for giving a vivid image of the city and discussing the patrons of the artisan community. The physical changes in the development of post-Revolutionary Boston and Charles Bulfinch's role in the introduction of the neoclassical style in architecture are discussed.

Annie Haven Thwing, The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630-1822. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920. Facsimile edition, Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970.

Justin Winsor, editor. The Memorial History of Boston. 4 vols. Boston: Osgood, 1880.

These two works represent the study of the his-

tory and growth of Boston as practiced in the local antiquarian tradition, so important in understanding Boston's unique cultural heritage. Both are illustrated by maps and prints and are full of interesting anecdotes about the city and its inhabitants.

Theodore Thomte, editor. James Henry Stark's Antique Views of Boston. Burdette & Company, Inc.: Boston, 1967.

A republication of the 1801 second edition of the 1882 book of Boston scenes, this volume reproduces many of the famous prints of Boston and environs made by local artisans. The topographical information is helpful in assisting the reader in locating various buildings, and the text is another fascinating example of nineteenth-century antiquarian scholarship.

Section 2: The Artisan Community and the Social Structure of Boston

Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman. New York; New York University Press, 1950. Paperback edition: University of Chicago Press.

In this study, one of the earliest in which a major historian seriously considered the role of the artisan in colonial America, Professor Bridenbaugh examines craftsmen in terms of their place in the social order of the eighteenth-century colonies. He covers rural and urban artisans in both the north and south, relying on such sources as newspapers, diaries, and public records. Not primarily an analysis of artisan life and society, this book provides the reader with a wide selection of primary source quotations describing the craftsman's life and activities.

George Francis Dow, The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775. Topsfield, Massachusetts, The Wayside Press, 1927. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1967.

The title page of this volume bears the subheading, "Gleanings from Boston newspapers relating to Painting, Engraving, Silversmiths, Pewterers, Clockmakers, furniture, pottery, old houses, costume, trades and occupations, etc., etc., etc., etc., etc., &," and that accurately describes its contents. In order to make the documentary evidence contained in Boston's colonial newspapers more accessible, Mr. Dow collected "gleanings" from the Boston News-Letter, Boston Gazette, New England Courant, New England Journal, and Boston Evening Post, arranging them according to craft category. Introductory essay.

Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. Paperback edition, Collier Books, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1963.

This history of the Stamp Act crisis contains a section on Boston and the Loyal Nine in the riots of 1765 which chronicles the importance of artisans such as printer Benjamin Edes in the political agitation which produced the Sons of Liberty and was an important step toward the development of the sentiment for independence.

James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XXII (1965), 75-92.

Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, XXVIII (1971), 375-412.

Companion pieces on Boston's social structure. Mr. Henretta traces Boston's transformation from an agricultural to a maritime commercial society. With the increasing economic development of the eighteenth century, he finds that the wealth of the town became gradually more unevenly distributed and society increasingly more stratified by the time of the Revolution. Mr. Kulikoff follows the steady progress of this trend after the Revolution, noting a greater concentration of wealth and status and the growth of larger units of production.

Section 3: The Crafts and Individual Craftsmen

General

Paul Revere's Boston, 1735-1818. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1975.

The exhibition catalog of the 1975 Museum of Fine Arts exhibition of the same name, Paul Revere's Boston is indispensible to anyone interested in Boston's eighteenth-century arts and artisans. Essays for general readers on life in Boston before and after the revolution are combined with lengthy scholarly captions to the profuse illustrations which provide much greater detail and excellent bibliographic references.

Nina Fletcher Little, Country Arts in Early American Homes. New York: Dutton & Co., Inc., 1975. Paperback edition: Dutton.

This is an excellent starting point for a person interested in decorative arts in the 1750-1850 period. Mrs. Little devotes survey chapters to such topics as architecture, carving, and ceramics, and her readable text speaks directly from the examples illustrated.

Abbott Lowell Cummings, editor. Rural Household Inventories. Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964. (Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine).

One of the most helpful books a student of decorative arts in colonial Massachusetts could hope to find, this volume contains an excellent introductory essay on the furnishing of period houses, together with relevant illustrations and a comprehensive glossary. The body of the work consists of the 109 complete room-by-room probate inventories extant for the rural towns of Suffolk County between 1675 and 1775.

Painters

Copley Stuart, and West in America and England. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976.

This exhibition catalog opens with an introductory essay detailing the careers of these three American painters who began as ambitious provincial limners and later went to England to join artists working in more progressive modes. Well-illustrated and with extensive captions.

Jules David Prown, John Singleton Copley. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966. Published for the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

A distinguished work on one of the first major American painters, divided into two volumes chronicling first his American and later his English career. Students of Boston's eighteenth-century artisans will be especially interested in the first volume which traces Copley's growing skill and professionalism in his native Boston

and his desire to live up to European standards. Analysis of individual portraits; detailed appendices; checklist of Copley's American portraits.

Andrew Oliver, editor. The Notebook of John Smibert. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969.

This intriguing volume contains both a facsimile and a modern transcription of the notebook of the immigrant artist, John Smibert, including his years in New England, recording personal events and the business of being a painter. Explanatory essays and detailed notes. An excellent and accessible primary source.

Printers and Engravers

American Printmaking: The First 150 Years. New York: The Museum of Graphic Art, 1969.

An exhibition catalog, good for general browsing, containing as it does reproduced prints and full notes but no long essays. There is a comprehensive selection of prints by Boston and other makers from 1670 to 1820.

John D. Morse, editor. Prints In and Of America to 1850. Winterthur Conference Report. 1970. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1970.

This varied collection of scholarly essays covers many topics in early prints, but the essay of greatest interest from the point of view of this reading list is "The Graphic Arts of Colonial New England," by Sinclair Hitchings, Keeper of Prints, Boston Public Library. In his essay, Mr. Hitchings describes the post-1740 spurt of printmaking, in terms of portraits, maps and charts, and work by newspaper printers and silversmiths.

Walter Muir Whitehill and Sinclair H. Hitchings, editors. Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670-1775. Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973.

The single most important scholarly essays on Boston printmakers and their work produced to date. Included is an essay on Boston's eighteenth-century map-makers, and on printmakers William Burgis, Thomas Johnston, Peter Pelham, and heraldic and emblematic painters.

Clarence S. Brigham, Paul Revere's Engravings. 2d revised edition. New York: Atheneum, 1969.

After a short bibliographical essay on Revere and another on his daybooks, this work is a fascinating series of reproductions of and short essays on Paul Revere's multifaceted repertoire of engravings. Documentation of sources and copies.

Laurence C. Wroth, The Colonial Painter. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1964. Paperback edition: University Press of Virginia.

Although it dwells primarily on newspaper printers, Wroth's book contains much valuable information on colonial printing houses, presses, types, paper, etc., and on the different kinds of printmaking practiced. A good technical guide.

Furniture Makers

Barry A. Greenlaw, New England Furniture at Williamsburg. Williamsburg, Va.; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1974.

Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period, in the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum. New York: The Viking Press, 1966.

Two volumes that provide good visual resources for the examination of a number of furniture types of both pre- and post-Revolutionary furniture styles. Excellent illustrations with detailed discussions of individual pieces, and introduction to the cabinetmaker's trade.

Walter Muir Whitehill, Brock Jobe, and Jonathan Fairbanks, editors, Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century. Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1974.

Another set of scholarly essays written for a conference held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. The lead essay, "The Boston Furniture Industry, 1720-1740," by Brock Jobe, is an excellent and comprehensive survey of furniture making and makers, including ancillary crafts. Good treatment of social and kinship relations within the artisan community. The book contains as well a series of essays on more specialized topics such as japanned and bombé furniture. There is an appended directory of eighteenth-century Boston furniture craftsmen and a bibliography of readings on individual makers.

Goldsmiths

Martha Gandy Fales, Early American Silver for the Cautious Collector. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1970.

A good introduction to the topic. Mrs. Fales considers style and form, design sources, regional variations, and use of silver. There is a val-

uable section on the technical aspects of goldsmithing: training, methods, business procedures, ancillary crafts; also identification and care. Glossary.

Kathryn C. Buhler, Colonial Silversmiths: Masters and Apprentices. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1956.
_____, American Silver, 1655-1825, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2 vols. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1972.

These two works by Kathryn Buhler should be examined sequentially. The 1956 exhibition catalog contains a general essay on early goldsmithing and the work of goldsmiths and an illustrated catalog of 126 objects. The 1972 publication is more detailed, arranged geographically, and lists makers chronologically. There are short essays on the makers' biographies and marks and the provenance and exhibition history of each object with full references.

Esther Forbes, Paul Revere and the World He Lived In. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942. Paperback edition: Houghton Mifflin, Sentry ed.

A biography of the goldsmith-patriot which gives a sense of Boston artisan life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Esther Forbes covers Revere's childhood and apprenticeship; marriages and family; goldsmithing and engraving; work for the Sons of Liberty; and later entrepreneurial activities. Also see her children's book, Johnny Tremain (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943; paperback edition, Dell), a fictional account of an apprentice goldsmith in Revolutionary Boston.

Miscellaneous Crafts

Charles F. Montgomery. A History of American Pewter. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

A social history of pewter and the craft of the pewterer. Mr. Montgomery deals with the techniques of making pewter, connoisseurship, and with pewter vessels by formal type.

Lura Woodside Watkins, Early New England Potters and Their Wares. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Mrs. Watkins tells the story of redware and stoneware production in the traditional potteries of early New England. Students of the Boston area should note especially the chapters on the makers of "Charlestown ware." Good use of primary documents and explanation of forms. Checklist of potters.

Mabel M. Swan, "Boston's Carvers and Joiners." Part 1, Pre-Revolutionary, The Magazine, Antiques, 53:3 (March, 1948), 198-201. Part 2, Post-Revolutionary, The Magazine, Antiques, 53:4 (April, 1948), 281-283.

The work of Boston's furniture makers and the carvers who decorated the furniture and did other distinctive carving such as figureheads. Mrs. Swan traces the working relationships between carvers and cabinetmakers and shows their gradual geographical grouping on Boston neck after the Revolution.

Leroy L. Thwing, "Deacon Shem Drown--Maker of Weathervanes," The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association, 2(September, 1937), 1-7.

The life and work of the maker of the famous Indian archer weathervane of the Province House and the grasshopper weathervane of Faneuil Hall.